

1978 年以来中国媒体追求新闻自由的努力研究
A Study on the Quest for Freedom of Press
By Chinese Media Professionals in China since 1978

王进昌
WANG, Jinchang

PhD

University of Technology, Sydney
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CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP/ORIGINALITY

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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内容摘要

本文运用新闻自由相关理论，系统研究 1978 年以来中国媒体界对新闻自由的理论探索与具体实践。它以新闻自由与专制的博弈为主要切入角度，通过文献研究和案例解剖，分阶段对中国媒体人争取新闻自由的脉络进行发掘和分析，并对历史传统、正反经验、观念变迁、市场影响、网络发展等因素与新闻自由程度的关系进行梳理，展现中国媒体人争取新闻自由高潮与低谷变换，成功与失败交织的复杂轨迹。文章的结论是：中国媒体虽然处在共产党高度控制下，但中国媒体人中一直存在着一条试图脱离党的控制、对新闻自由进行不懈追求的线。这条线代代相传，从未间断，取得了有限但珍贵的成果，为中国新闻自由的最后实现积累了宝贵的经验。

本文的研究成果同时体现在理论和实践两个层面。新闻自由理论可以理解为现代新闻事业的基本原则，它是指导新闻业务的基本思想，媒体履行正常功能的基本前提，受众享有知情权的基本要求。当代中国新闻自由的实践主要体现在两个方面，一方面是制约新闻事业的政治法律框架的演化，另一方面是媒体人在共产党高度新闻控制的条件下争取新闻自由的努力过程。从理论上说，这项研究丰富了中国新闻自由状况等方面的理论研究成果。特别是，本文对新闻自由与媒体控制这两种理念的历史纠结进行辨析，对近代新闻事业传入中国以后两种理念对中国新闻实践的影响进行了深入探讨。从实证方面说，这项研究挖掘和提供中国媒体界争取新闻自由方面的实证材料。以中国媒体人从 1978 年前后到现在的时间段里争取新闻自由的主要事件、主要媒体、部分代表人物为线索，把中国媒体人争取新闻自由的努力的绵延不绝的图像清晰地呈现给世人。此外，这项研究对于中国当代新闻史、中国新闻立法、舆论监督，以及新闻媒体内部改革等方面也有一定的现实意义。

Abstract

This thesis is a systematic study on the practice and theoretical exploration of the freedom of press in China since 1978. It sets out to uncover the struggles of China's media professionals at different stages in the reform era of China and evaluate these struggles in the theoretical perspective of the freedom of press. To this end, the thesis provides a critical examination of the theory and practice of the freedom of press in China since 1978, with a focus on the conflicts between the quest for the freedom of press and the reality of China's totalitarian and post-totalitarian regime. It also carries out analysis of other factors shaping the degree of the freedom of press in China, such as the pre-PRC experiences with the free press, value change in the era of reform and opening to the outside world, the influence of market forces and the spread of the internet. The findings of the thesis demonstrate that, although the Chinese media is still heavily censored by the communist regime, many professionals working in the Chinese media industry have always been determined to break free from the control of the Party and to achieve the freedom of press. This determination and incessant efforts made by generations of journalists have yielded limited but valuable results that have laid down the foundation for the eventual realisation of the freedom of press in China.

This study makes an important contribution to the field at both theoretical and empirical levels. At the theoretical level, the thesis enriches the theory of the freedom of press particularly in assessing the impact of the concepts of free press and press control in the development of modern media in China. Empirically, the thesis is an elaborate account of the trajectory of the heroic quest for the freedom of press by Chinese media professionals under the communist rule.